

Research in
Education
Journal

**CONFERENCE
ISSUE**

Hodgkinson

Astin

Young

Rudolph

Escott

**SPECIAL INSERT:
DIVISION OF RESEARCH &
PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT**

**GRIST FOR THE MILL
BOOKSHELF**

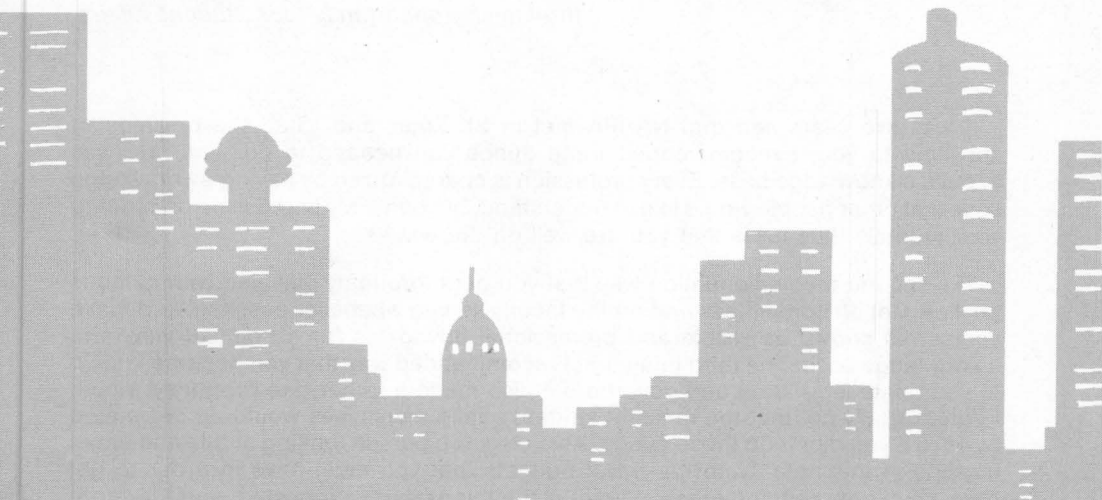
Journal

Vol. 14, No. 1, Summer 1976

naspa Journal

Vol. 14, No. 1, Summer, 1976

*Published by the National Association
of Student Personnel Administrators*



CONFERENCE ISSUE

- 2 Guess Who's Coming to College: New Learners, New Tasks**
Harold Hodgkinson
- 15 Achieving Educational Equity for Women**
Helen S. Astin
- 25 Developing Handles: Commitment, Idealism, and Responsible Activism**
Andrew Young
- 30 Grist for the Mill** *Roger Penn*
Jan Kubik **Selling Tickets to Major Campus Events**

SPECIAL INSERT

- i-xx Planning, Budgeting, and Evaluation in Student Affairs Programs: A
Manuel for Administrators**
Richard L. Harpel

- 31 The American College Student: from Theologian to Technocrat in 300 years**
Frederick Rudolph
- 40 Anatomy of a Placement Cotillion**
Stanley B. Escott

Harold Hodgkinson

Guess Who's Coming to College: New Learners, New Tasks

*The changes in student populations,
and curriculum design may be a
"threatening opportunity" for Student Affairs.*

It was five years ago that NASPA met in St. Louis and I had the privilege of speaking to you. I recommended three things you needed to do. The first was to build a knowledge base. Every profession is characterized by having a knowledge base that other people would like to understand, but can't. My impression on reading your journals thus far is that you are well on the way.

The second recommendation was that you get thoroughly affiliated with campus politics. Get on committees and on the faculty senate whenever possible, and make yourselves known as visible and professional advocates for a point of view and a knowledge base. The third thing that I recommended was that you become known to your state legislators and governors. I also made a rather dire prophesy, which I don't usually do, that the ranks of student affairs employees would be decimated by 1976 if you didn't do those things. As a research person looking at this audience, meeting in this hotel, with the travel budgets that you must have in order to get here, I can only conclude that you did all the things that I suggested, and therefore that's why you're here today! That's called "causation," as I recall.

THE NIE MISSIONS IN BRIEF

There is an important set of new steps that I'd like to present to you this time. They are a little bit different from those I presented last time. But first let me do a three minute history of NIE so that you will know something about it before we get further into the material that will relate to your professional concerns.

How much research and development is done in the United States in the area of education? Unlike agriculture and medicine which have heavy state contributions to the total budget, the education research and development (R&D) budget is supported principally by the federal government. It is carried through eight agencies of the government (only four of them are in HEW) and they provide 87% of the \$511,000,000 that comes from the federal treasury. You'd be interested to know that the Department of Defense spends about \$7 billion a year on education. That's about as much as Commissioner Bell has for the rest of the country. State sources for education R&D are about \$40 million and holding fairly steady. Local sources, particularly local school districts, are currently about \$4 million and going up very rapidly. Many of the school districts have discovered that in order to get more federal money they have to be able to report student attendance rates and social class differences and things like that, and therefore they've built a fairly sizeable

research staff in order to complete the federal forms that will enable them to get more federal money to hire more people to fill out more forms. In the private sector, there are eleven foundations that provide most of the \$57 million that goes to education research and development. This gives you a total from all sources of about \$617 million, with a low of \$500 million and a high of \$790 million. It is still an estimate, but it's the first estimate that I have ever seen (it was put together by our staff).

That sounds like a lot of money, but consider the fact that we spend \$115 billion a year in this country on education. R&D comes out to less than one half of one percent spent on trying to find out what worked, what didn't, why, and how we can make what worked happen again the next time. Given that fact, it is interesting to point out that agriculture spends about 4% of its total on research. Medicine spends between 5% and 20%, depending on how you count it. Therefore education R&D is the most underfunded of the major social endeavors.

NIE itself is organized in a series of divisions, each of them around a major problem area. The area that will have the major increase for 1977 is "dissemination." Expenditures will go from \$9 million to \$16 million during that period. Much of the money will go to states, but some of it will go to new kinds of consortia, particularly Washington-based associations, and other associations that need to form more networks to get information out to their members. We also have a heavy program in "basic skills" — remember that there are about 11 to 12 million adults who don't know how to read in this country and therefore basic skills is not just for the early elementary schools. We think of the basic skills problem as one that goes throughout one's life. We're especially interested in reading and writing. As a former English teacher I think it is important.

We have two projects now with the National Science Foundation on the "impact of the hand-held calculator on education." The hand-held calculator is one of the most revolutionary devices that you can imagine. It is not as exciting as a laser beam, but I can assure you that the hand-held calculator has possibilities that are quite remarkable.

Our "Educational Equity" program is heavily into bilingual studies. As you know, Lisle vs. Nichols has changed the status of language teaching in the United States. It argues that every child has the right to be taught in the language which is spoken in his or her home. I have the feeling that case will have some revolutionary impacts on postsecondary education as well, and I suspect such a decision is around the corner, perhaps in the next four or five years.

We also are interested in women's studies. We're interested in career counseling and what happens to women at various stages in their lives. There is considerable work going on in that area. "Education and Work" is a program that the agency has been quite fond of. We've done an enormous amount of work with the President directly, in terms of developing "Education and Work" initiatives.

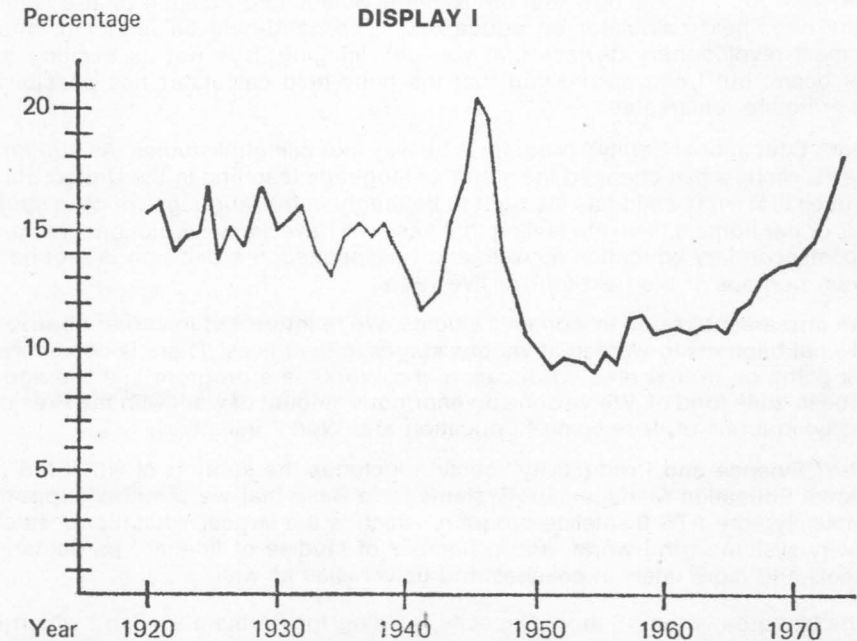
The "Finance and Productivity" section includes the support of NCHEMS (the National Education Management Systems Data Base that we are now supporting completely), the ATS 6 satellite program, which is the largest educational satellite delivery system in the world, and a number of studies of finance, particularly in schools and more lately in colleges and universities as well.

The last area is the "School Capacity Building for Problem solving" which has the unusual assumption that schools and colleges have the talents and skills to solve their own problems. A trick of that program is to establish, through networking, ways in which the various talents can be brought together.

Those then, are our six major granting areas. We have a considerable amount of our work in postsecondary education, as well as a majority in elementary and secondary. We are increasingly interested in basic research and policy studies. The amount of our work that is development, primarily curriculum development, is a steadily receding part of our total. The massive curriculum developments of the sixties are just no longer needed. With more local autonomy there's clearly a need for modules that local school boards and individual teachers can select from, rather than from the single massive PSSC science course approach which revolutionized the teaching of a subject in one shot. So we're moving into more work in dissemination, more in policy studies, and far more in basic research.

Our granting, as I indicated, is primarily in elementary and secondary, but for 1977 we'll have about \$10.4 million in postsecondary activity, although that varies depending on how you count it. If you include the ERIC Clearinghouses, which we support, that will run the total up considerably. My impression is that in the next three or four years we will have a higher percentage of our total in post-secondary education. But, quite frankly the name of the game is not there. If you look at what the courts are doing in terms of enormous pressures that have been brought to bear on educational systems, it has been on the public schools. I think a lot of these pressure will move towards colleges and universities, so you have a warning.

I'll now discuss how the universities and colleges respond to the various kinds of population changes that you have to take into account of and which I tried to indicate to you in 1971. This interesting chart I title "How to Change a University." It is fascinating to observe that the variable holds almost constant at about 15% with one mercurial change, roughly 1944-1952. Then it drops off and goes back



Percentage of doctorates awarded to women (From *Summary Report on Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities, 1972, 1973*, National Research Council, Washington.)

to its normal level. The chart indicates the percentage of female students in graduate schools in the United States. What caused the mercurial increase in dedication and moral fervor on the part of graduate schools to having more women in their graduate programs? Quite clearly it was that they ran out of males. During World War II there weren't too many around and that caused a revolutionary change in university thinking about who ought to be admitted to graduate schools. Universities and colleges are very susceptible to population and to economic trends. If you want to create rapid change, set up a series of external conditions that will lever on the university and college. That almost inevitably produces change.

SATISFACTION WITH COLLEGE AND THE ROLE OF HELPING

There is clearly a widespread dissatisfaction with education on the part of Americans today. As some support for this, we have developed a new data base that was made public about two months ago. The data comes from a very interesting study of about 1,000 thirty-year-olds who were 15 when the Project Talent data base was created in 1960. In four hour interviews, these 30-year-olds were asked to reflect back upon their life to find out what kinds of things they felt were important, what kinds of things weren't and so forth.

Of all the major dimensions of individual lives that were mentioned in the interviews, the most consistent pattern was that people were very unhappy about the state of their heads. They did not feel that schools and colleges had developed them in any significant way.

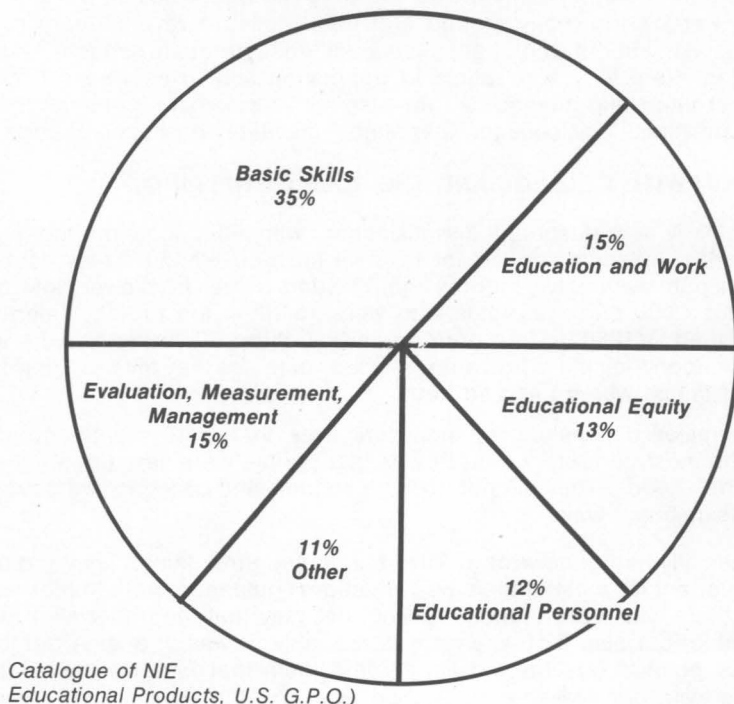
What specifically had gone wrong? They mentioned three things time and again. The most important for most of them was vocational guidance. Both in high school and college there was a pronounced feeling, not only that the information wasn't readily available, but also that when it was available, it was wrong. A number of the interviews pointed out that individuals told them that jobs were available at "X" and jobs were *not* available at "X." College "Y," the adviser said, would be a good college to go to, but it turned out college "Y" was just the wrong place because the adviser's information about college "Y" was ten years old. So, vocational guidance was judged as very inadequate by 88% of the males in this sample of 1,000 thirty-years-olds.

Most interesting to me was that 33% of this sample at some time during their educational career had a need for personal support and counseling, and that need was not met. Thirty-three percent is a fairly heavy proportion although I can't tell you how critical their need was. Some of the interviews revealed that there was one crucial point in the development stage of a human being when if the right reinforcement had been there, that person might have evolved in a slightly different path. So this is not what we usually refer to as hand-holding. This is a deadly serious thing: the person needed some help, and it simply wasn't there. These then are the three things that adults tell us was wrong with their education.

That leads us to a general question which probably has been asked by this conference before and maybe even been answered; why is there so much interest in adult education today and why are we talking about lifelong learning? The answer really is very simple. We are about to run out of 18-year-olds! We're still in the process of showing a slight gain in the size of the 18 to 21-year-old cohort, but by 1980 we begin a roller coaster down which doesn't end at 1990.

Now, depending on how optimistic you are, you can trace the pattern out and possibly project an upturn at some point, it depends entirely on the optimism of the demographer. The data, however, suggest that thus far there is no change in the birth rate of any significance.

DISPLAY II
PERCENT OF NIE PRODUCTS
IN SIX MAJOR CATEGORIES (N = 661)



DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY AND THE BIRTHRATE

Everybody knows that when you have a declining birth rate, the population ages. As the population ages, those people who provide goods and services for older people benefit and those who provide goods and services for younger people suffer. There is no way out of that equation that I have been able to find out. So the real enrollment crunch is not yet upon us. It has decimated the elementary schools in this country and it is just about to run its way through the high schools. By 1980 it will be on your doorstep.

My hope is that you will learn something from the experience of elementary and secondary schools in terms of how they are dealing with the problems of rapid fluctuations in enrollment. We are learning some ways to deal with those issues and I think they are relevant to colleges and universities. My hope is that we don't have to reinvent the wheel in 1980. Let me stress the fact that this is not a prediction. These cohorts are already born, they're here and unless the human gestation period changes drastically, the phenomenon won't change much in the next few years.

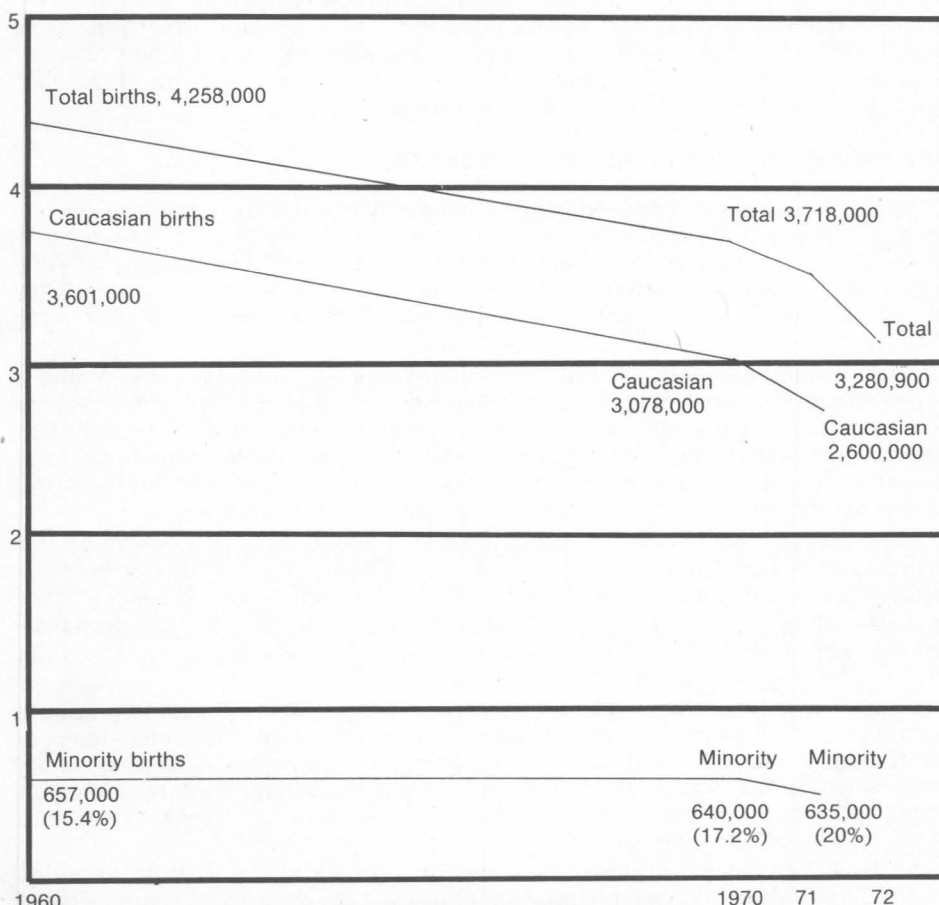
In addition to the decline in birth rate the most important thing, and it is seldom talked about, is the fact that the birth rate is not distributed evenly across the population.

It seems terribly important to me for colleges to understand that by 1980 we will be running out of 18-year-olds and that in the makeup of the 18-year-old cohort

from which colleges must choose there will be a higher percentage of students who come from minority backgrounds and a higher percentage of students from lower social class backgrounds. Neither of those groups have been terribly well served by a post secondary education. It behooves us, it seems to me, to develop an increasing commitment to developing more effective ways of educating people from minority groups and from lower SES backgrounds and to make environments that will be meaningful to them in colleges and universities.

The data comes from the Office of Management and Budget, so you know that it is right. The data shows a sharp decline of white 18-year-olds in 1980; the number of Black 18-year-olds holds fairly steady. The fraction of 18-year-olds who are Black, goes up in this data from 12% to 18% from 1965 to 1985. Indeed, by 1985, if you look at the 18-year-olds as a cohort, about 30% of them will be from minority group backgrounds. That includes native Americans, orientals, Spanish surnamed, Blacks, and so forth. You are going to have to deal not only with a decline in the base, but a shift in the nature of the base.

LIVE BIRTHS BY RACE (U.S. STATISTICAL ABSTRACT, 1972)



ATTRACTING NEW LEARNERS TO COLLEGE

When you look at enrollment shifts, there are only two possible sources of hope, if we think of steady enrollments being necessary in order to survive. One is that more adults will come back to school and the second is that we can attract a higher percentage of the 18- to 21-year-old cohort than we have currently been able to enroll in colleges and universities.

As you know our ability to attract 18-year-olds is not very high, and it's dropping off considerably year by year. In addition the percentage of 18-year-olds who are graduated from high school is beginning to decline. There is a myth in this country that everybody is graduated from high school. It isn't true. In 1975, 74% of the 18-year-olds had graduated from high school. So we have a fairly large problem, first of all in getting young people through high school and secondly in our ability to attract them to college, given the urgencies of the labor market and the new possibilities for travel and other activities for affluent students. So there is some possibility that we may be able to increase the base from new (to postsecondary education) population groups.

Then we have to look at the other problem: total student enrollment is not just admitted freshmen, it's how many manage to stay through four glorious tuition-paying years. If you look at persistence you find some very interesting things. The drop-out rate has always been high between the sophomore and junior year. One reason for that is that a lot of students really only want to go to a junior college. They may not admit it to anybody, but their secret plan is two years of college, then get married or do something fun for a while.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

We can move now to a deeper analysis of the way in which our society is moving regarding higher education. Once we had an aristocratic era in which one's place in the educational system was determined by the status of one's family. If your family had appropriate standing, you went to Yale. If it did not, you didn't go anywhere. From 1860 to 1900 for example, about 2% of the 18-year-olds were in college.

Then we entered a meritocratic era when there was a large increase in the numbers of people who sought higher education. Our job became that of rejecting the majority of candidates and selecting a very small meritocracy who would be prepared to become the leaders in our society. There was a very heavy use of aptitude tests, because aptitude tests are, first of all, very hard to question. One of the functions of the test is, after all, to reject people who want to get into college.

We've moved from that to an egalitarian phase where there is a decline in the numbers who seek higher education and, as a consequence, a greater belief in educating everybody according to their limits. In other words, as you get a smaller population that you are going to work on, you tend to increase the comprehensiveness of your services to that population. That enables you to keep your hands on them for a longer period of time.

Twenty-two states now have legislation pending saying that in order to graduate from high school every student will have to meet certain minimal competencies. My feeling is that that movement is bound to move up to the college level. As long as twenty-two states are now considering competency legislation for high school graduation, it seems likely to me that many states will seek to legislate at the postsecondary level as well.

What have colleges and universities been doing as a response to these kinds of pressures? Much has been happening in the last seven or eight years. A great

deal of interest in re-packaging the curriculum, developing modules, the Keller plan, audio tutorial, many different kinds of intensive course plans, off-campus learning, and a lot of interest in evaluation. The competency-based styles that are in use in Mars Hill, Albena, University of Massachusetts at Boston, and other places show great interest in credit by examination and field experience programs. It is interesting, however, that with a new focus on packaging curriculum and new ways of evaluating students, almost nobody is thinking much about new *kinds* of curricula. The Herbert Spencer question, "What knowledge is of most worth," is being avoided by almost everybody. Nobody is asking what should we teach in place of introduction to accounting, or is there a better way to handle a person's interest in humanity than Introduction to Psychology. There is, compared to the 1950's, a dearth of exciting new conceptualizations about the nature of subject matter which students are to learn. So, being rather technical and pragmatic, we have packaged the curriculum in a different way and we have tried to evaluate its outcomes in a different way, but we haven't changed what is in the black box very much.

Many institutions are getting very serious at the same time about faculty development programs. This is their way of improving the curriculum. Faculty development — including video taping of classes — has many released-time activities and visits to other campuses, which have turned out to be enormously successful. I would recommend these, especially if you have a large staff in your student affairs office. I think that you will find that a one or two day visit to another campus will provide more demonstrable yield in terms of what staff have learned than a lot of other activities you might engage in. Professional growth contracts are beginning to spread, mini grants are present in many kinds of campuses as are skills workshops, faculty load analysis, and a number of other things. So, in terms of developing the faculty, we have done rather a good job.

My impression is that the student affairs programs have not moved as fast in development programs for staff as the faculty development programs have, especially over the last few years. Many of the development activities directed toward faculty seem to me to be equally useful for student affairs workers. All of the activities will be beneficial, even video taping. I have yet to see a person who spends time counseling students who couldn't benefit from watching a video tape of himself in that activity. All of these things could be done by student affairs programs and although it may be that most of the programs are doing those things, my experience is that they are not.

THE IMPACT OF THE NEW LEARNERS ON COLLEGES

In terms of trying to attract the new learners, the new adults, we have done four different kinds of things. The first is to extend the hours that we leave the campus open. That means we don't change the degree requirements much, but we may change the residency requirements because you can't ask a 55-year-old to live in your dormitory.

The second thing that we are doing is the liberal studies adult degree program. These are enormously successful in terms of their demonstrated impact on adults, but they are not as widely used as they probably should be. One reason is that they require a thoroughly flexible faculty in order to secure their approval for a curriculum that is quite different from a conventional undergraduate program.

The third thing that is happening to attract new learners is individualized study, the use of learning contracts, modules, varied kinds of learning resources, getting community resources into the classroom and so forth. Most of these strategies

involve individualized contracts even at the degree level. Thus, there are very few requirements that all students must meet.

The fourth kind of change has been the degree by examination, exemplified by the New York Regents' external degree program which already has offered well over 3,000 degrees to people who have never sat in a classroom in New York since entering the program. The degree is based entirely on what you know, not how you learned it. That program is spreading by leaps and bounds and poses many challenging implications for those who believe that the college experience is important as a humanizing, ripening period during which students encounter other kinds of people and in their informal lives engage in important developmental tasks.

Those then are the things that we are doing for new learners. But now let's look for just a minute at who the new learners actually are. Who they are supposed to be according to all the rhetoric are women, ethnic minorities, blue collar working class people, the unemployed, and those who are new to higher education. If you look at who they actually are you find out that they are male, caucasian, middle class with a heavy emphasis in managerial and professional backgrounds, full-time employed, some previous college experience — they make pretty good salaries and are very high on persistence. Indeed, the adults who are now in our colleges and universities look strikingly like the 18-to 21-year-old cohort, only older. We have not yet met the important mission of attracting those other new learners, the kinds of people who have not been accommodated well by education.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDENT AFFAIRS

If we do, it seems to me, your mission is going to be very clear. The faculty will not be very effective in working with these individuals. There will be a chance for new leadership on the part of student affairs offices to deal with that particular kind of new student. That will provide student affairs with one of their better positions, by being able to say to the state legislature, "Look, if you really want a broader segment of the population in post-secondary education, we're the ones who know how to deal with them, and we are the ones who know how to help them get through the programs, stay in and benefit from them."

There are a couple of other tests that are being applied to education that I think are quite important to consider. One of the most important is *Griggs vs. Duke Power*. This is a Supreme Court case which makes it very clear that no employer can require a bachelors degree of an applicant unless the employer can demonstrate that people with such a degree do better than people without it. That case, when it first came out, caused loud cheers to come from the liberals on the faculty. They said, "Take that, big power company." Mr. Griggs happened to be Black, incidentally. On the other hand, the chickens are now coming home to roost. We have three cases this year of a college in which a person on the faculty was fired for not getting the Ph.D. degree in the time required. The faculty member has brought suit against the institution arguing that it is up to the institution (according to *Griggs vs. Duke Power*) to prove that people with the Ph.D. degree teach better than people who don't have the Ph.D. degree. Let me tell you that is a very tough case to prove! As far as I know nobody has ever done that successfully. The degree as a credential, then, is under some question.

This creates a nice opportunity for professionals like yourselves to leap in and say, "Credentialing isn't the only thing we're in business for. If you look at the patterns of human development that occur we'll be able to show you that some very good things happen to students on our campus in addition to their getting

a degree." So here again, the discrediting of the degree creates another possibility for action.

Related to that is the most fundamental problem we have with our whole system of higher education as sieve for the meritocracy. David McClellan, a professor at Harvard and a former president of the American Psychological Association, looked carefully at the literature on the relationship between grades in college and success in life. He used fourteen different criteria for success in life. Any criterion that you and I could think of is on the list. McClellan found to his surprise that there is no relationship whatsoever between grades in college and success in life. It is astonishing but it's not the straight A student in medical school who becomes the most distinguished or most important or productive physician or researcher. It's not the straight A student in law school who goes on to become the most distinguished barrister. Indeed, throughout the range of activities in American life it is just remarkable that college grades are unrelated to success in them. We have built up a system of aptitude testing that predicts entry into college and predicts success in college courses reasonably well, not superbly well, but reasonably well. When that's all over, however, and the students enter what some of them refer to as the "after-life-work," family, and all that, the value of the whole prediction system drops to zero. That's another nice opening for student affairs people, it seems to me. Because once again you can say, "Yes, that's true about grades, but we're doing other things for students that we can measure and that do make a difference when they get out into the after-life."

And the final negative thing I'd like to mention is the new interest in the consumer of education. I'm sure other people at this conference have talked to you about it, but I'd like to mention one part that's not widely known. We normally assume that tests of mental ability are perfect. That is, after the test is taken you split the population up into two groups; people who have the trait and people who don't have the trait. Most tests work in such a way that after the test people who have the trait are identified as well as some who don't, but among those the test data indicates don't have the trait, there are a few who do have the trait. What the law has been telling us in the last three or four years is that those people have certain legal rights. That is, if a test says that you don't have something and you can demonstrate that you do have it, according to a number of court decisions, you can sue for damages. That is a very interesting new dimension for education that is going to become more important in the future.

The best illustration is the 1968 case of a Columbia University student who graduated in June, was given a bill for two semesters late tuition in July and in August and then turned around and sued Columbia University for breach of contract. He argued his position by pulling out the catalogue of Columbia University and reading page eight to the judge. On page eight, as in most other catalogues, it says, "Graduates of Columbia University are knowledgeable and aware young men and women fully cognizant of their responsibilities to society." He then offered his bill for two semesters back tuition as evidence that he was an irresponsible member of society, and justified in suing Columbia for four years tuition and damages. He didn't collect, but I think he would have if the matter had gone to an actual decision, which it didn't.

On the other hand we have the Peter Doe case in San Francisco. Peter Doe was awarded a high school diploma yet he was functionally illiterate. He sued the City of San Francisco for over a million dollars. We now have about 60 consumer cases in the courts in which students are saying that the institution spoke with a forked tongue and I want my money back. These are not just proprietary institutions of fly-by-night correspondence schools. They include some of the best institutions

in the land. Again, this sort of situation presents an opportunity for student affairs people.

POTENTIAL NEW ADULT LEARNERS

Let's return to the earlier discussion of potential new learners. How big is this audience? Assume a movement toward an increased concern for adults. That audience is really pretty big. There are about 13 million American adults who would go back to colleges or universities right now if they only knew where the resources were that they needed to capitalize on. There are 26 million Americans who would go back to school if they had some chance for counseling, plus resource information, and one in three American adults is already engaged in some form of organized learning activity, most of them not in a college or university setting. Where are they? They are at IBM, Raytheon, Xerox. IBM is now the world's largest college, incidentally. There are more people studying at IBM than anywhere else in the United States.

There is a big group of adults out there who could be attracted to college campuses. The question for you is, if they do come back, will you be ready for them?

What sort of things are adults interested in? Forty-one per cent are interested in taking formal courses, that's to be expected. But if you look at what else adults are interested in it's quite remarkable. Thirty-one percent want some assessment of their personal competencies, not to get into college but to find out what they are good at; what their potential is. Twenty-eight percent want some testing of their strengths and weaknesses in skills and subjects, not to return to college, but to find out more about themselves. Most interesting in this particular survey is that 20% of the adult population when interviewed said that they had a need for personal counseling. I find that quite remarkable. About 12% are interested in basic skills training — again not to go back to college — and 16% want to compile a record of all the things they have done as an educational scrap book. Most of what adults mention as interests have nothing directly to do with getting a degree, but have to do with their personal development as human beings. What could be a bigger opening for student affairs?

As a consequence of the interests among adults we will have more new kinds of institutions developing because many current colleges and universities simply can't do all the things people want done. There is credentialing and there is degree giving; in my opinion they are becoming more separate. There are more political forces at work forcing credentialing into a different mold and the college degree is not going to be as useful for credentialing as it has been in the past, partly because of Griggs vs. Duke Power.

Let me describe a model of a new kind of institution — you might call it a "Regional Examining Institute." New York and California have something like this now. Imagine four people, "A," "B," "C," and "D." "A" doesn't want any college or has no college, just wants certification as a computer programmer. "A" has had no courses, but does have the skills. That person goes to the regional examining institute, is certified as having the skills, and goes directly to industry. No tuition, no courses, because the person already has what they need. "B" has no college but wants credit for previous experience in order to get ahead in a college career. "B" goes to the examiners, the assessment is made, and, if credit is forthcoming, the recommendation is given to the college or university that that person should receive a certain number of credits for experience. "C" has credits from a lot of different sources and wants a degree. One individual we talked to had 290 undergraduate credits but did not yet possess a B.A. degree because no institution,

TABLE 8
STUDENT ACTIVITIES — ALL LEVELS — PERSONNEL VARIABLES

Variables:	Department Heads N = 13	Staff N = 13	Entry N = 7	Totals N = 33	Percent
Race:					
Black American	-	1	-	1	3.0
White American	12	12	7	31	94.0
American Indian	1	-	-	1	3.0
Spanish Surname	-	-	-	-	0
Age:					
20-24	4	5	4	13	39.4
25-29	6	7	3	16	48.5
30-34	2	1	-	3	9.1
35-39	-	-	-	-	0
Over 40	1	-	-	1	3.0
Sex:					
Female	5	7	5	17	51.5
Male	8	6	2	16	48.5
Degree:					
Ph.D./Ed.D.	3	-	-	3	9.1
Masters	10	1	5	16	48.5
Bachelors	-	12	2	14	42.4
Degree Major:					
Student Affairs	11	8	4	23	69.7
Higher Education	-	-	-	-	0
Counseling/Guidance	2	3	-	5	15.2
Psychology	-	-	-	-	0
Sociology	-	-	1	1	3.0
Business	-	-	-	-	0
Other Academic	-	2	2	4	12.1
Years of Experience:					
0-2	5	8	7	20	60.6
3-5	6	5	-	11	33.3
5-7	2	-	-	2	6.1
More than 7	-	-	-	-	0
Salary:					
Under 6,000	-	-	1	1	3.0
6,000-7,999	-	-	1	1	3.0
8,000-9,999	2	2	-	4	12.1
10,000-11,999	4	9	5	18	54.7
12,000-13,999	2	2	-	4	12.1
14,000-15,999	4	-	-	4	12.1
16,000-17,999	-	-	-	-	0
18,000-19,999	1	-	-	1	3.0
Over 20,000	-	-	-	-	0

Residence Hall Director, Coordinator of Housing Services, Director of Residence Halls and Housing, Residence Hall Counselor, Residence Hall Director.

The most striking data revealed in this category, aside from the fact that this was the largest single functional category studied, is in the variable reflecting years of experience. In this area, 71% of staff hired had two years of experience or less, as opposed to 61% in Student Activities, 35% in Counseling and 31% in Student Affairs Administration. Undoubtedly, the large number of Entry level positions in this category greatly affected the results. Generally, this supports the contention by many that Residence Halls and Housing Services Departments in colleges and universities represent the major single source of Entry level positions for new professionals in the field.

TABLE 9
RESIDENCE HALLS-HOUSING SERVICES — ALL LEVELS

Variables:	Department Heads N = 17	Staff N = 17	Entry N = 46	Total N = 80	Percent
Race:					
Black American	1	-	4	5	6.3
White American	16	17	42	75	93.7
American Indian	-	-	-	-	0
Spanish Surname	-	-	-	-	0
Age:					
20-24	6	3	26	35	43.7
25-29	7	11	19	37	46.2
30-34	4	2	1	7	8.8
35-39	-	1	-	1	1.3
Over 40	-	-	-	-	0
Sex:					
Female	4	12	24	40	50.0
Male	13	5	22	40	50.0
Degree:					
Ph.D./Ed.D	5	1	2	8	10.0
Masters	10	14	38	62	77.5
Bachelors	2	2	6	10	12.5
Degree Major:					
Student Affairs	9	13	26	48	60.0
Higher Education	2	-	3	5	6.3
Counseling/Guidance	4	1	11	16	20.0
Psychology	-	-	1	1	1.2
Sociology	-	-	2	2	2.5
Business	1	1	1	3	3.7
Other Academic	1	2	2	5	6.3
Years of Experience:					
0-2	7	4	46	57	71.3
3-5	7	8	-	15	18.7
5-7	2	3	-	5	6.3
More than 7	1	2	-	3	3.7
Salary:					
Under 6,000	-	-	4	4	5.0
6,000-7,999	-	-	10	10	12.5
8,000-9,999	5	2	15	22	27.5
10,000-11,999	4	7	10	21	26.3
12,000-13,999	3	3	5	11	13.7
14,000-15,999	3	4	2	9	11.3
16,000-17,999	2	1	-	3	3.7
18,000-19,999	-	-	-	-	0
Over 20,000	-	-	-	-	0

Table 10, below, presents personnel data for professionals filling Counseling positions. Typical titles of these positions include: Director of Counseling Services, Assistant Director of Counseling, Staff Psychologist, Counselor.

With reference to Table 10, above, only two job levels emerged since the two Entry level positions were deleted from the final population. Aside from the fact that Department Heads appear to be somewhat older and have more years of experience than Staff, a comparison of the two levels within Counseling reflects marked commonality. Probably the most significant statistic is revealed when comparing the highest degree with Counseling Center staff and staff in other categories: 52.5% of Counseling staff had attained the Doctorate as compared

(and he had taken courses at 7 or 8 institutions) would recognize enough credits from the others to add up to a degree. The individual happened to be making \$60,000 a year. He was on the school committee in the town in which he lived. That person, or "C," could get an assessment and a degree. "D" simply wants counseling and diagnosis. There isn't any college or university in the country that I know of that handles individuals A through D and does a good job for them. What are the implications of this model for student affairs?

Another new model coming down the track is the "non-instructional services model." In this model locations where adults characteristically collect are utilized by placing in them very skillful and highly trained counselors to work with the adults. The counselors in these environments refer adults to diagnostic centers or to an agency, if needed. About three states are considering such a model. Again no college or university presently could do that, but student affairs programs, and the kind of interests they characteristically have, are made to order for that kind of a delivery mechanism.

MORALITY AND THE LINEAR ONE-WAY BOUNDED SYSTEM

As we think about the kinds of things we might do for and with adults, there is a metaphor I would like to leave with you. You are probably all familiar with a cafeteria line. In systems terms it's a linear one-way bounded system. Now the implications of cafeterias are quite interesting. You have one decision for each of the sections. That is, you either decide salad — yes or no, then you go on past it: If you think that's not true, just try to go back in a cafeteria line and revise your initial choice. It's really hard. So the system has a lot of imperatives in it. It pushes you in a certain way.

About twenty years ago people who were interested in cafeteria management developed something called a scrambled access system. The amazing thing about this system is that it allows people to build their own meal at their own time and to move anywhere they want within the cafeteria universe in order to complete the selection that they desire. It's about twenty percent more efficient than the linear system. In other words, 20% more people can move through the scrambled system per hour. When this new design was first presented to a group of cafeteria managers the response was fascinating. Almost to a person they said, "it's immoral." That caused some consternation on the part of the design people, who asked, "Why is that?" The managers replied,

... the thing you don't realize about a cafeteria line is that desserts are always put at the end. That means you have to load your plate up with things that are good for you so that by the time you get to the desserts there isn't enough room to really load it up with them. This keeps you on a balanced, nutritionally adequate diet. If you give people the freedom, they will take nothing but desserts.

I thought, "My God, do they really mean that." It turned out that they did.

About a month later I was talking to a national group of registrars and found that they see the curriculum in precisely the same way as cafeteria managers see their service line. That is, the registrars say it is important to protect people from the 300 level courses, therefore we have to give them the 100 level courses first to make sure that they go through the sequence in the "proper" way. Indeed, I watched one registrar at a state college, which will remain nameless, when a student came in and said, "I really want to get into Professor Jones 302 course. Professor Jones says it's okay. I have taken a test and shown that I have all the information I need in order to get into that course and do well." The registrar looked at the student and after a long pause said, "Why don't you like it at our

school?" In other words, the registrar is saying to the student, unless you go through this line there is something seriously wrong with you; you're a deviant. If you take a semester out, or take a year out, or even worse, go to another institution to finish up, those behaviors clearly indicate that there is something wrong with you.

CONCLUSION: THREAT OR OPPORTUNITY

Before we get too supercilious about cafeteria managers, let me propose to you that most of postsecondary education is still organized as a linear one-way bounded system model, but what is emerging increasingly is a lifelong learning model that looks far more like the scramble system where throughout one's life one is able to choose from a variety of educational settings according to the needs a person has at a particular time. Unless we recognize the needs of new learners and make effective responses, we are going to be in great trouble, especially as we face appropriations committees and state legislators and even private foundations. Student affairs professionals have far greater control over and access to the scramble system than they ever had with the linear one. The linear one was controlled by the faculty. They decided who went where in the system. As the system opens up and as you look at places such as Minnesota Metropolitan State College, the Community College of Vermont, Alverno, and a number of other new kinds of institutions, we find that the one thing that they all say is, there is an enormous need for trained, sophisticated counselors who can work effectively with a wide range of ages and ability levels. Most of them also say that they don't know where they will get them. It's just possible that in the next few years student affairs professionals skilled in helping might become very sought after, which would be a pleasant switch.

A new institution starting out today will have to attract a student body with a diversity of age levels and will have to place more reliance on good student counseling — I use that word as description of an activity that integrates the cognitive and affective dimensions of what one does with students — the sort of thing that mentorship usually means. I suspect that almost every college and university in the country will have programs very like that in the next few years. That suggests to me that unlike what I said to you in St. Louis a few years ago, if you have developed the knowledge base that I hope you have, it's just possible that in the next four or five years — if you play your cards right — and I mean that exactly, your profession might become very desirable to the people who increasingly make the important fiscal decisions about postsecondary education.

It is a time of crisis as we all know — budgets are not going to easier in the next couple of years — you may be faced with an increased student enrollment and a declining budget at the same time. Many institutions are facing that now. Let me call to your attention that a crisis is a very good time to produce change. The little college I was the Dean of had one terribly difficult meeting of its Board of Trustees. They were meeting to close the college because of a lack of income. The business manager came in somber faced and was asked to prepare a list of closing costs, which he did. The Board looked at it and discovered that we didn't have enough money to close. A marvelous party was held and the institution is still very much alive today.

In times of great stress you may all find that there are possibilities for advancement, possibilities for improvement, and many of them will be things that you might not have conceived were possible five years ago. The best way is to look at crisis the way the Japanese do. In Japanese the word crisis is defined as a threatening opportunity.

Helen S. Astin

Achieving Educational Equity for Women

*Programmatic efforts to achieve
educational equity must begin in
high school counseling and curriculum.*

It has been over a century since the beginning of the women's movement for equal rights in the United States. The movement dates back to 1848 when women gathered at Seneca Falls, New York, to discuss the social, civil, and religious rights of women. It was then that women first demanded equal access to education, the trades, and the professions. By 1920, their efforts had won a major victory — the right to vote — but they were a long way from being equal to men in education and work. It was not until the early 1960s that efforts began — again — to revitalize feminism and to achieve equality.

Two events in 1963 mark the beginning of the present women's movement for equal rights. John F. Kennedy, then President of the United States, had appointed the Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission presented its report, *American Women*, in which the lower status of women in education and work was amply documented. At the same time, *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan was published. Friedan discussed the way in which American society had "imprisoned" women in their own homes by not encouraging them to pursue their talents and lead independent lives. Her book created a climate of awareness and dissatisfaction with the status quo. The years that followed were critical in that major legislation affecting women's struggle for equality was enacted.

In the early 1960s "sex" was added to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. In 1965, President Johnson issued Executive Order 11246, which prohibits discrimination by all federal contractors on the basis of race, color, religion, and national origin. This order was amended in 1968 to include sex.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963, amended to include institutions of higher education, prohibits discrimination in salaries on the basis of sex. The Public Health Service Act of 1971, the first legislation forbidding sex discrimination against students, prohibits discrimination in admissions to medical schools and other health professional schools.

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits discrimination against students and employees on the basis of sex in all federally assisted educational programs including admissions, financial aid, educational and guidance programs, and student services and facilities.

More recently as reported in Section 408 of the Educational Amendments of 1974, the Congress found and declared that educational programs in the United States (including its possessions), as presently conducted, are frequently inequitable as such programs relate to women and frequently limit the full participation of all individuals in American society.

Dr. Helen Astin is Professor of Higher Education at UCLA and author of numerous studies of higher education.

The purpose of this section is to provide educational equality for women in the United States. The Commissioner is authorized to make grants and to enter into contracts for activities designed to carry out the purposes of the section at all educational levels.

The section also authorizes and directs the Commissioner to conduct a national comprehensive review of sex discrimination in education to be submitted not later than a year after the date of enactment.

This comprehensive review on sex discrimination was designed to cover three major areas of concern. The role of guidance and counseling at the secondary and postsecondary educational levels; access of women to postsecondary educational institutions; and the employment status of women at all educational levels.

My colleagues and I at the Higher Education Research Institute undertook the first two major efforts in assessing the kind and extent of sex discrimination in *Guidance and Counseling* and in *Access*.

I shall limit this discussion to the issues and findings from the study on *Access*. I would like to share with you our major findings, the conclusions and some implications for programmatic efforts to achieve equity for women.

EDUCATION AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

We designed our study to examine discrimination against women as a major barrier to access. More specifically, we wanted to ascertain whether educational inequity is the result of discriminatory practices; and if so, how these practices operate and how severe the inequity is. Thus, we focused on the effects of discrimination and inequities in postsecondary education, to the extent that they exist.

We have *defined* equal access to postsecondary education as an equal opportunity to attend the postsecondary institutions that can prepare a person for the occupation or life style for which he or she is best suited by virtue of abilities, interests, and talents, and that can provide those services necessary for personal and social growth necessary to achieve self-realization. We viewed educational access as a process by which an individual achieves a particular goal. As a process, access comprises all educational experiences; thus, access to postsecondary education reflects the experiences that a person has before formulating and implementing postsecondary plans.

One very important objective of our effort was to identify factors that either facilitate or inhibit educational access for women. In assessing educational inequities we first examined the participation of women at different educational levels: secondary schools, postsecondary collegiate institutions, and postsecondary non-collegiate institutions. Even though participation rates give only a partial picture of the situation, they do allow us to ascertain the extent to which women are taking advantage of all available educational opportunities, a major factor in their later employment opportunities.

In terms of differences in their high school preparation, we find that the sexes are sharply segregated among vocational and technical programs in high school: 21 percent of the women compared with 3 percent of the men were in business or office occupations and 11 percent of the men compared to 1 percent of the women were in trade or industrial occupations.

Women made considerably better high school grades than men, yet fewer women

than men planned to attain at least a BA or higher degrees (45 percent versus 55 percent while they are still in high school).

The courses students take in high school have implications for their postsecondary educational options. High school girls usually underprepare themselves in mathematics and science even though they still receive somewhat better grades than boys do in these courses.

A number of reasons are often given by students about their not continuing their education. Whereas men are more likely to say that they had poor high school grades or low test scores, women more often attribute their not continuing to not having the necessary information on time: not knowing about admissions requirements, educational costs, or whether there was a school in the area.

Although the absolute number of women enrolling in institutions of higher education just about doubled between 1964 and 1973, the proportions of women still lag behind those of men. The higher the level of education, the lower the percentage of women enrolled: thus, women make-up 45 percent of two-year college enrollments, 43 percent of four-year college enrollments, and 42 percent of graduate enrollments; of the last group, most were in terminal master's programs.

A critical question relating to equal access is the types of institutions attended by students. Women are more likely than men to give economic considerations as a reason in their selecting a particular college. Women are found to attend smaller, less selective, and less affluent institutions than do men. Women are also under-represented in technological institutions. Examining enrollment figures for 36 technical institutions, we found women to be 10 or less percent in 22 of these institutions.

A student's choice of college major has a profound effect on subsequent access to various occupations. Over one-third of women entering college in 1975 planned careers in teaching, nursing, and nonmedical health fields. However, there is some indication in recent years of greater interest among women in pursuing careers in law, medicine, engineering, and business. Among 1975 college freshmen, one woman in six planned a career in one of these traditionally "male" fields.

What has been the educational attainment of women? In 1973-74, women earned 45 percent of the bachelor's degrees, but the only fields in which they earned more than half of the degrees were the traditionally "female" fields of home economics, library science, allied health professions, foreign languages, and education. In the same year (1973-74) women earned 9 percent of the first professional degrees, 44 percent of the master's degrees, and 19 percent of the doctorates awarded. But again, they were concentrated primarily in traditional fields.

In 1972, women accounted for more than 11.5 million students enrolled in vocational education programs. But here too, women were heavily concentrated in traditionally female fields: 84 percent of all women taking vocational courses are in homemaking, home economics, and secretarial or clerical fields. Furthermore, in office occupations and health fields, women were in fields with relatively low-paying job prospects. For example, women accounted for half of the enrollments in business data processing systems courses, primarily key punching operating courses, but only 29 percent of supervisory-administrative management courses. Nationwide, enrollment in the relatively high-status technical programs was 90.2 percent male and 9.8 percent female.

EFFECTS OF BACKGROUND AND PERSONAL VARIABLES ON ACCESS

Before one can ascertain the impact of discriminatory practices that result in differential educational access and attainment, one must examine those personal characteristics and early experience that affect access independent of institutional practices.

Many children have been reared to view the man's role as substantially different from that of the woman's role. Differential socialization affects not only the choices individuals make but also the alternatives they see as available. At the secondary level — the point at which decisions about postsecondary plans are made — students have already experienced an intensive, though largely unconscious, campaign that has taught them which behaviors, values, and goals are appropriate for their sex.

Although aptitude and past achievement are important in postsecondary access and achievement, socioeconomic status (SES) appears to exert a stronger influence on girls than on boys. Girls of low SES are more likely to pursue a collegiate postsecondary education than boys with similar aptitudes from the same low SES levels.

A young man who is able to meet admissions requirements and pay the fees will probably be able to attend college. But the probability that a young woman will go to college is more likely to depend on the education and values of her parents and the availability of a college close to home.

The differential effects of SES are manifested in postsecondary education completion rates as well as in college attendance. Given two highly able students from lower-class backgrounds, a man and a woman, it is the man who is most likely to complete postsecondary training.

SELF-IMAGE AND EXPECTATIONS OF WOMEN

A woman's participation in postsecondary education — collegiate and noncollegiate — is determined not only by existing opportunities but also by her aspirations, her expectations, and the views she holds about the role of education in her development and in her preparation for adulthood. Some studies have reported that women set lower aspirations and goals for themselves than men do; moreover, the views and expectations of others influence young women's orientation toward academic endeavors.

Examining the life goals of high school students, we find that young men are more likely to value work and success on the job and in the community, whereas women place more importance on a happy family life and the correction of economic and social inequities. The life goals of college students suggest that men are motivated more by extrinsic values, whereas women's objectives are motivated by intrinsic values. Such differences in values also affect career choice and the educational preparation that enables people to pursue their chosen career.

College men rate themselves higher than college women on academic achievement-oriented tasks. Women rate themselves higher on social competence. Even though a strong sex difference in self-esteem is by no means clear, college men tend to show "greater self-confidence when undertaking new tasks, and a greater sense of potency, specifically including the feeling that one is in a position to determine the outcomes of sequences of events that one participates in" (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974, p. 158).

Central to the question of educational access and attainment is the extent to which young people have high aspirations and are motivated to achieve educationally and occupationally in our society. The level and direction of achievement motivation in women appear to be affected by sex-role definitions, orientations, and expectations. Personal attributes generally defined as feminine, such as dependence and lack of assertiveness, may conflict with achievement motivation as usually manifested in intellectual and occupational contexts. Horner maintains that fear of success prevents many women from achieving. Many girls and women seem to experience a conflict between striving for achievement and the feminine role; they perceive achievement as unfeminine. It has been found that child-rearing practices conducive to feminine sex-typing are frequently antagonistic to those leading to achievement-oriented behavior.

Though child-rearing practices that encourage achievement-oriented behavior in women have been identified (e.g., a moderate but not high level of warmth or nurturance and the presence of an achieving maternal model), the growing girl is still exposed to many other people who may influence her development.

While some knowledge of the differential participation and attainment rates of men and women and of the personal and background factors that inhibit women in pursuing postsecondary education is essential to an understanding of the problem of discrimination in access, perhaps even more pertinent is some knowledge of the institutional practices that may act as barriers. These are, after all, presumably more amenable to change. Such institutional practices include the counseling and information that students receive in high school, the recruitment and admissions practices of postsecondary institutions, the availability of financial aid and special programs and practices.

EVIDENCE OF SEX BIAS

In high school, students may draw on a number of sources for information as they are deciding what they will do after graduation — including the all-important decision of whether they will continue their education; and if so, in what kind of institution. First, they may turn to the people around them, including their parents, peers, teachers, counselors, and other adults. Although most students feel that they themselves are primarily responsible for their post-high school decisions, girls are more likely to discuss these matters with their mothers, boys with their fathers; in addition, girls are more likely to talk with other relatives, teachers, and counselors. Generally, the role of counselors is somewhat ambiguous: relatively few students go to them for advice, and even fewer feel that counselors influence their plans. Moreover, discussing plans with a guidance counselor does not appear to increase the student's satisfaction with the postsecondary decision.

Scores on interest inventories are another source of information that the student may use in making decisions about the future. But such inventories have lately come under severe criticism on the grounds that their empirical development limits their value for women; indeed, because they offer her relatively few occupational options, they may have a restrictive rather than a broadening effect on her thinking about alternatives.

Other guidance materials are hardly less free of sex bias. For example, men predominate as "career representatives" in the illustrations in occupational encyclopedias such as the widely distributed *Occupational Outlook Handbook* (Birk, Cooper, and Tanney 1973 and 1975). Moreover, they are usually depicted performing exciting and challenging tasks (often in outdoor settings) working autonomously,

and looking serious and dedicated. Women, on the other hand, are usually depicted as inactive, working as assistants or helpers, and smiling; few are shown in outdoor settings. More recent editions of these occupational handbooks have corrected some of the racial ethnic bias that earlier editions contained, but they have done little to improve their treatment of women. A question arises here: should such materials portray the world of work as it is (in which case, there would be more pictures of women as career representatives, but chiefly in lower-level positions) or as it should be (in which case, women might be depicted more frequently as representatives of high-level careers, though in fact they are underrepresented at these levels in the work force).

Institutional catalogs — such as are available in most high school libraries or counseling centers — tend to devote far more space to men than to women, with four-year colleges and universities being the prime offenders and proprietary schools the most equitable in their treatment. Further analysis of the content of these catalogs reveals that men predominate as faculty and administrators at collegiate institutions, particularly at the higher levels; again, proprietary schools are somewhat more equitable with respect to the sex distribution of faculty and administrators. According to institutional catalogs, special services for women — e.g., gynecological care, child care facilities, women's studies curricula — are rare at most types of institutions. Thus, despite current efforts of affirmative action, most institutional catalogs still exhibit sex bias.

Though the research literature contains few studies of sex discrimination in college admissions, one recent experiment with 240 institutions indicates that, all other things being equal, male applicants stand a better chance of being accepted than female applicants and that the sex differential is particularly strong among students of average or low ability (Walster, Cleary, and Clifford, 1970). This finding was substantiated in an exploratory study we conducted on the ratio of acceptances to applications: highly able women fare well in the college admissions process, but those of lower ability may suffer discrimination.

Some preliminary analysis of the criteria that four-year colleges and technological institutions use in admissions decisions suggest that grades earned in courses taken in high school are of prime importance. Women have the edge on the first criterion, since they generally make better grades in high school than boys do. On the second criterion, however, they are at a definite disadvantage, particularly when it comes to admission to technological institutions, which require a strong background in mathematics and science. More complete information is needed, however, on how these criteria (and others that institutions may use) affect the admissions decision.

Overall, women fare well in admission to graduate and professional schools except in the top-ranking programs, where more male than female applicants are accepted. However, there is some evidence that letters of recommendation — a criterion frequently used at the graduate level — often contain sex-biased statements that may reduce a woman's chances of being accepted.

Finally, women face some special problems for which special solutions may be required. Institutional failure to accommodate to women's needs may result in lower educational attainment. Thus, the lack of gynecological services and child care centers may lead women to drop out of school. A more difficult issue — because it is both harder to identify and harder to correct — is that of the institutional environment, particularly as mediated through the attitudes of male faculty members. Because of the low proportions of women on college faculties, women students are less likely to have role models to follow. Instead, they must turn to male faculty

members, who often do not give them the support and encouragement they need. Evidence suggests (1) that male faculty members tend to look down on their women colleagues, and (2) that this hostility or indifference is perceived by women students. Because they feel that they are not taken seriously, women may even consider dropping out of school. The lack of faculty acceptance has especially adverse effects on the woman graduate student; without the support of a mentor-protégé relation, such as men frequently develop with faculty sponsors, the woman may simply be discouraged from continuing in graduate study.

FINANCES

The sources of support which a high school graduate has to draw on affect his/her decision education, choice of a particular institution, and persistence once enrolled. Our society generally gives higher priority to educating men than to educating women — partly because of the outmoded belief that men are the sole breadwinners and therefore college education for women is frivolous; they will not “use” it. The damage that this belief does is compounded by the heavy reliance that women have on their parents’ support to cover college expenses. Women are less successful than men at getting jobs to help pay for their education; and even when they do find jobs, they are underpaid in relation to men; evidence exists that they may be discriminated against in college work-study programs by being given lower-paying, lower-status jobs than men. They receive less support from scholarships and other grants. They may not be able to get loans as easily as men, or they may be reluctant to borrow because their different work and income patterns will make it more difficult for them to pay off the debt. They are less likely than men to receive military-related benefits. In short, women are ultimately forced to depend on their parents for support, and this financial dependence may make them more emotionally dependent on their parents as well. Women from low socioeconomic backgrounds are at a particular disadvantage, first because their parents may simply not have the money to spare to send them to college, and second because among low-income families educating the son tends to have a higher priority than educating the daughter.

Though college financial aid officers usually report that the student’s sex is not considered in awarding financial aid, their off-the-cuff comments often reveal an insensitivity to the special needs of women. One common institutional practice that is particularly detrimental is the restriction of financial aid to full-time students. This restriction penalizes both men and women but is especially damaging to those women who, because of family responsibilities, may not be able to enroll full-time, and by the same token, cannot take jobs to help pay their way through college. Also, athletic scholarships, seldom awarded to women, usually have been among the more lucrative forms of student aid.

At the undergraduate level, women are somewhat more likely than men to express concern over being able to finance their education; they are less likely to declare themselves financially independent. Throughout their college years, they rely more on parental support, whereas men are more likely to rely on earnings from employment to support themselves. Moreover, though a larger proportion of women than men are awarded scholarships and loans, the average amount of the award is higher for men.

Undergraduate men receive more total financial support than women, though it is not clear whether this is because they are judged to be more needy or because they are more assertive in applying for aid and seeking employment.

With respect to the financing of advanced study, some information is available on the proportion of men and women who receive certain kinds of financial aid, but useful data on the dollar amounts awarded to men and to women are lacking. It appears, however, that during the first year of graduate study, women rely more on their own savings or on their husband's earning, whereas men rely more on support from parents. More men than women also receive support from fellowships, scholarships, traineeships, and assistantships. This last source of support is important in that having an assistantship — and particularly a research assistantship — increases a student's chances of completing graduate study in that such an award usually involves working closely with a faculty member, which in turn encourages persistence and may pave the way to better career opportunities later on. Having a teaching assistantship does not have the same positive effects. That more men have research assistantships, and more women teaching assistantships, then, becomes significant; this difference may work against women graduate students in the long run. It is not, however, solely attributable to sex bias; rather, it may be explained by women's concentration in fields where research assistantships are simply not available on any larger scale.

NEEDED EFFORTS

These several findings have a number of implications for programmatic efforts to be undertaken by educational institutions. It is evident that, if women are to have the same occupational opportunities as men do, steps must be taken by the secondary schools to ensure that they have the necessary preparation. First, girls who in high school take vocational curricula should be encouraged to diversify their fields of study from the typically "female" courses into the technical courses that are now the domain of boys. Second, high school girls enrolled in academic and college preparatory curricula should be counseled to enroll in and complete more courses in mathematics and science. As the situation stands now, women often underprepare themselves in these areas because they fail to realize that such preparation considerably enlarges their options and thus may be crucial to their future lives.

Many young women continue to believe that postsecondary education bears little relation to their future lives — one reason why fewer women than men pursue postsecondary education. In addition, high school girls are more likely than high school boys to perceive the costs of a postsecondary education as a barrier. Two major impediments to career development in young women are a lack of information about financial aid resources and a tendency to underprepare in science and mathematics. Thus, in dealing with high school girls, counselors have a dual responsibility: to help them develop more realistic outlooks about their future lives, and to provide detailed information about the financial costs of an education and about sources of financial aid.

Programmatic guidance efforts can assist high school girls to (a) change their perceptions about appropriate occupational roles for women and (b) develop a better understanding of the multiple roles they are likely to assume in the future. Specific efforts in assisting both sexes in preparing for the future might include specially designed courses on career development, to be taken by both girls and boys. Such courses would have two components: self-assessment of interests and competencies, and occupational information, including what types of preparation are needed for different occupations, and what their requirements and rewards are. Such courses would emphasize — through discussions and analyses — how sex-role socialization shapes occupational choices and would seek to free students from these stereotypes.

Another step that should be taken at the curricular level is to introduce high school girls early to technical and scientific material so that their interest will be aroused and their sense of competency be developed.

I would also like to recommend that women's studies be introduced in high school so that students of both sexes can gain a greater understanding of the effects of socialization. Women's studies can elucidate the images of the woman as depicted in literature, history, and art as well as exposing the student to important women writers, artists, and scientists who may serve as role models.

In addition to curricular changes, an effort should be made to develop new guidance materials, films, pamphlets and so forth.

High school teachers and counselors are themselves products of socialization. If change is to be effected, special efforts should be made to provide them periodically with systematic training about sex-role development and about the role that socialization plays in shaping the self-perceptions, aspirations, and educational and occupational choices of women.

Since parents obviously have a profound influence on their children, the high school should plan programs to assist parents in working with their sons and daughters on issues concerning education and career decisions. Not only must parents have complete information about postsecondary opportunities and costs, but also they must have experiences that provide for sex-role awareness.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Examining the data on women's participation in postsecondary education, we find that a few facts stand out. First, fewer women than men enter college, and this disparity in proportions increases at each higher level of advanced study. Second, very few women attend technical institutions. Third, even though changes in the career interests of college women have occurred in the past few years, women undergraduates are still heavily concentrated in traditionally female fields such as education, and the allied health professions. Fourth, women in vocational education are also likely to train for traditionally female occupations.

The rather limited participation of women, and their concentration in traditionally female fields, results from socialization as to appropriate roles and occupations for women. Sex-role stereotypes continue to operate as women make decisions about their future lives. To overcome these stereotypes — which have already taken their toll in high school — colleges, and in particular technological institutions, should attempt to develop active programs for women. Such programs would include special efforts to recruit high school girls to provide them with tutorials and remediation in mathematics and science once they have been admitted.

The cost of postsecondary education is perceived by many young women as a particular problem as they make decisions about their future lives; once in a postsecondary institution, they continue to have special concerns about financing. The type and amount of financial aid available has been found to affect decisions about postsecondary education as well as persistence while in college or graduate study. Since young women in general are more likely than men to depend on their parents for support, those whose parents do not value education for their daughters as much as for their sons may need financial aid as much or even more as the male students.

Work-study programs have been found to be an effective form of financial aid in that they encourage persistence. Women should be encouraged to participate

in these programs, and efforts should be made to place them in jobs traditionally reserved primarily for men. Work experiences in nontraditional areas will help women to enlarge their options by developing new competencies, and will help to make them more independent, personally and financially. Financial independence may have additional benefits in that women will begin to view themselves as a critical part of the economy and as competent to assume leadership roles in our society.

In graduate school, women should be encouraged to compete for research assistantships, since this experience offers the additional benefits of further learning, more interaction with mentors, and future employment opportunities. Furthermore, women should be encouraged to apply for fellowships, and professors should be encouraged to nominate women in greater numbers.

Colleges should continue to support women's studies, for the same reasons outlined earlier with respect to women's studies in high school. Moreover, since female role models are scarce in higher education in general — and in traditionally male fields in particular — special efforts are needed to give young women a chance to interact with role models, for instance, in workshops or seminars. Films on the lives and activities of successful women are a further example of possible programmatic efforts to provide role models for college women.

The lack of gynecological facilities and of day-care centers have been viewed as forms of sex discrimination in that many women need such support to continue their education without undue pressure. To provide convenient and inexpensive health care, gynecological facilities should be made available as an integral part of any educational institution's medical services; one of the benefits is psychological: the provision of such facilities increases the woman's sense of belonging in the institution. Moreover, as long as a woman is expected by society to bear primary responsibility for her children and to follow her husband to a new location when he makes a change, an effort should be made to provide for child care and to permit part-time study. It would also help in such situations if institutions develop new and simpler ways of translating and accepting credit from other institutions, so that women who must follow their husbands do not lose credit for previous postsecondary experience.

The Title IX regulations implementing the Education Amendments of 1972 released just as we were undertaking this study. In many respects these new regulations correspond directly to our findings and recommendations. For example, with respect to catalogs and other informational literature, Title IX requires that both the text and illustrations of such materials reflect nondiscriminatory policies. Title IX also prohibits discrimination in counseling and in the use of appraisal and counseling materials. With respect to admissions, Title IX states that no test or other criterion of a discriminatory nature can be used unless it is shown to be a valid predictor. As regards financial aid, Title IX prohibits discrimination in amount, type, and eligibility. It further indicates that sex-specific monies must be matched equally with nonsex-specific money. The regulations require remedial action to overcome the effects of previous discrimination based on sex which has been found in federally assisted education programs or activities.

Implementing the spirit and letter of the new Title IX regulations, however, will require the concerted efforts of states, local school districts, and institutions. Complying with these regulations, the status of women as students should improve. The proportion of women achieving advanced degrees should increase, and segregation of the sexes by fields and occupational preparation should change.

Andrew Young

Developing Handles: Commitment, Idealism, and Responsible Activism

The "quiet" on college campuses is isolating Congressmen from students at a time when input is essential.

The ninety-one recent freshman congressmen who brought about a reform of Congress, by and large were in college during the early 60's. Interestingly, not all of them are lawyers. Many came from faculty positions with a new spirit of faculty activism with which they began to challenge the status quo in the political hierarchy.

Now we have a new kind of Congress. A Congress that may be more like what the Founding Fathers intended. Incumbents have been stripped of much of the special privilege and much of the insulation that came from receiving huge campaign contributions and being able to accumulate so much money that nobody could ever run successfully against them. Members of Congress now run for reelection every two years. Each faces genuine opposition now because contributions are limited.

All of this, I think, is an outgrowth of a period that seems to have come to an end, although we are still sharing its fruits. Somehow on the college campuses today I don't sense a similar movement. I sense a return to the kind of silent generation that was true of my generation, and, I would guess, most of yours. The most urgent thing that we did — our contribution to radical student life — was the panty raid.

One of the reasons that I don't lose faith in this student generation is that I see what happened to my generation. I felt so guilty after coming out of college, knowing that I had wasted most of the time I was there, that going into public life was almost a kind of repentance. I didn't think of going into public life as going into politics. Somehow, after the selfish four years that I had spent in a university and the three more years in graduate school, it just seemed like I owed something to somebody else. So I'm very hopeful about this generation of students. I know that the quietism on the campuses is not really a result of a complete loss of faith or disillusionment by students. It is a matter of timing.

Students are quiet because they were made to be quiet. It's no accident that we were quiet. It was Senator Joseph McCarthy that quieted us. I remember only two things about my college life: Senator Joseph McCarthy on television and the Sugar Ray Robinson-Jake Lamata fight. The same sort of thing has happened to this generation.

The nation went through a period where students were killed for their activism on the campuses. Those deaths were not deaths that students brought on themselves. We know that what happened at Kent State, we know that what happened

at Orangeburg, we know that what happened at Jackson State, we even know that on our campuses the Federal government was at work undermining the very institution of free learning, the freedom to know (which we think of as so important in our university life). We know that our student organizations were infiltrated; that provocateurs inspired and disrupted many demonstrations; that there was a mood coming from the White House that said, "get students"; that student demonstrations were stirred up to create a backlash so that certain politicians could get elected. We still find people trying to run against the student population. It is as though the student population quieted down in self defense because they realized that they were being used by the party in power.

We hear it right now. We hear the talk about food stamp chiselers. There have been about 19 million people who at some time or other have been involved in the food stamp program. The few who may have been students during their participation have become the whipping boy for the entire program. Nobody ever stops to think that a college student nowadays is not some young kid from a middle class family who is living on east street writing home for checks once a month. That may have been true twenty-five years ago. The college where my wife works is a city community college. The average student age is twenty-nine. The ages of students range from 17 to 73. Many of those who decided to get an education there are married Vietnam veterans who could not find full time, decent work. But they were able to find, just maybe, a part time job pumping gas, or cleaning up at some of our new hotels, or waiting tables, *and* to take a few courses to advance themselves and to prepare for the future. Food stamps for students like that may be one of the most humane and productive investments that a society can make. Yet, you don't hear that kind of talk in the Congress of the United States — yet.

You don't hear anybody concerned about student loan programs. The only thing you hear about student loan programs now is about the people who don't pay them back. We tend to build programs in the Congress now that are very anti-student. One of the terrible things about this period is that students are not yet coming to their own defense.

When I was first elected, even though it was college students that worked as volunteers to get out the vote, it was the . . . well, the first week the bank presidents, then the president of Coca Cola and the president of Delta Airlines — not the vice president, not the legislative officer, nor the liaison officer — the presidents of every bank and every major corporation — Lockheed, Coca Cola, and Delta Airlines — came by to get to know me and offered to help me in any way that they could. Now I hear from them every time something comes up affecting their business.

Of course, it's my job to represent them also, but I don't think we have yet received a letter about what is happening to student loans. I don't think we have had any reaction from the student population, and Atlanta is a heavy student district. My district has six Black colleges plus Georgia Tech, Oglethorpe, and half of Emory; there must be forty-five different colleges and educational institutions in my district — yet, I very seldom get a letter from a student.

So there are negative aspects to the quiet period in which we now find ourselves. I think that if we are going to get out of this period one of the things we need to do is to encourage student aggressiveness in their relations with the political system. After all, students pay taxes too, and the student tax contribution, on a percentage basis, is larger than the contribution by most of those corporations that come to tell us exactly what we ought to do about everything.

Many congressman might not be concerned. In fact, I may slip up also — you tend to grease the wheel on the wagon that is squeaking the loudest. I love my children but, sometimes, you get so busy that you don't stop to feed them or to change their diapers, until they start screaming. If that happens with our own children, how much more does it happen for a Representative when a segment of the constituency is strangely silent?

We are protected in some measure by young legislative interns. We try to help these interns understand about the political system. Too often they end up deciding, "Oh, yeah, you're a good Congressman, we don't need to worry you." That's not the case. Every single Congressman, all 535, needs to be in a close relationship with the student population as well as with the university administrations.

In fact, the cost of education is such now that unless there is some real reassessment of the Federal share, we will find many of our academic institutions in grave trouble. How we do that ought not be left to a few people who haven't been near a college or university for twenty years or so. The things that are happening on a day-to-day basis, the visions of what an educational system ought to be twenty, forty, fifty years from now, ought to be the basis on which we are legislating now. We can't possibly know that unless we get some understanding of it from you.

I think the whole question of priorities in our nation will not be significantly addressed until our student population wakes up and helps us to wake up. After all, the direction in which this nation is now about to move is going to be the direction that they will have to live with. Students ought to have a lot to say about where we are going. They ought to have a lot more direct input as we as a nation begin to think of the values and the priorities of the coming century.

From my perspective, the minority perspective, I think that might be the orientation from which they should begin to look. Not because there is anything virtuous in being a minority, but, there may well be. For if you are a minority, if you are a part of the segment of the society that in any way is oppressed by the rest of the society, you begin to suffer the things that are wrong with the society first-hand. The people who suffer from problems are most likely to be the people who are going to do something about it. It is true in everything we do.

I was at a banquet just last night, a foundation for colitis and ilitis. I didn't even know what they were. The member of my district who got me there knew very well. He had a daughter who suffered and died of it. Because of that suffering he was determined to raise money to help in the research and treatment of these diseases. So it is with social ills and political dilemmas. So it is with the problem of unemployment. So it is with the problem of peace. So it is with the problem of our cities. So it is with the problem of miners that have to go down into the mines. They are the ones most likely to do something about mine safety.

On your campuses you have students now coming in who bring with them a great deal of understanding and sensitivity about the serious problems that our nation and our democratic system face. By allowing those students to isolate themselves, we are contributing to the cultural retardation of the majority.

My argument about integration, whether it is integration on the college campus or busing, is that it is not the minority that is the one to suffer as a result of segregation. Minorities start from day one beginning to understand their place in relationship to the majority group. Every little Black child or brown child learns to relate to white people very early. Every young woman learns very, very early about her relationship to men. They are taught, because it is necessary for survival. People who conceive of themselves as in the majority, and in power, very seldom

give a thought to the problems and to the persons of minority origin. So the majority are the ones who end up suffering a cultural retardation to which our educational system has yet to address itself.

Dr. Kenneth Clark says that ignoring this concept is one of the great mistakes that the Supreme Court made in its 1954 decision. He did the research on the negative effects of segregation on Black children. Included in the study/report was a section he regarded as equally important and significant on moral disintegration that affects the white child as a result of being brought up in a value system where day by day they are confronted with glaring hypocrisy on the question of race. In the report that Professor Clark gave to the Supreme Court in 1952 as it began deliberations on the Brown case, he discussed the contradictions that cause alienation and prophesized the life styles that we have since seen develop such as in the counter-culture, from the hippies to Patricia Hearst. Clark notes that the Supreme Court didn't see fit to include that part in their judgment. That seems to me to be where the problem of race relations is right now, especially when you look at a world that is made up almost two-thirds colored people and people who are in the have-not category. If we in our society don't have some understanding of how to relate to the have-nots of the world, then we will find ourselves threatened in a way that we have never been threatened before.

The starting point may be in creating relationships with the minorities on our campuses. It disturbs me when I visit campuses and still see a Black House. Now, I think you need a Black House, but it ought not be all Black folk there. There ought not be any kind of exclusive cultural manifestation on any college campus. A major part of the education process ought to be students (and faculty, and staff) learning about each other. If there is no Black House then there may be no place on the campus expressing that cultural experience. If the students just begin to get a little comfortable with the Black House, then their education and their future will be a lot easier.

I think we have approached a time when the problems have gotten so great that the people on college campuses have begun to suffer a kind of cynicism that grows out of what Dr. King called the "paralysis of analysis" — that we talk problems to death but we never get any handles on how to do something. We never make a commitment. We generate by that process a sense of helplessness so that the more we know, the less we think we can do.

How directly opposite that is from the life of the average man who is struggling with a problem. I was with Cesar Chavez in California when, after years and years of organizing, and after he reached what he felt to be a meaningful agreement based on the word of honor of the lettuce and the grape growers — which he respected, he found that he had been totally betrayed. Five or six years of organizing the farm workers had been undermined and he had to start all over. If there was anything that ought to make a man give up, that should be it. Yet, he cursed one time and then very calmly said, "I guess we will have to start over, it's not going to be as easy as we thought." We need that kind of determination; the understanding that life is problems and that the meaning of life, the purpose of life is to devote one's life to developing handles and the mechanisms for dealing with the problems of our time. If we can begin to get that kind of practical approach to solving problems, whatever those problems may be, then we will begin to see a return to the idealism and responsible activism that has helped make the nation as great as it is.

Whenever I begin to get a little bit discouraged I am always reminded of a time when I was visiting some poor kids in one of the few really integrated schools

in Atlanta, Georgia. It was a low income neighborhood. The only kind of folk that are really integrated nowadays is poor folk. Rich folk leave the school system to avoid integration and insist on the cultural isolation that will get them in so much trouble later on; but they won't learn. I was listening to these little kids stand up and sing at the close of an assembly program. They were all kind of dirty and raggedy, but they were all in a school that was heated. They were all recipients of a school lunch. All of a sudden, I stopped and realized that they, even the poorest of the poor in Atlanta, may be among the upper ten percent of the privileged people in the world. They will receive more education; they will consumer more calories; they will enjoy more opportunities than ninety percent of the world's people. Then they stood up and sang,

"When the storm clouds gather far across the sea,
let us all be thankful for a land that's free.
Let us all be grateful for a land so fair
as we lift our voices in a solemn prayer."

Then they sang a song that I hadn't heard since my grandmamma listened to Kate Smith every night,

"God bless America, land that I love.
Stand beside her, and guide her
through the night with a light from above.
From the mountains to the prairies,
to the ocean white with foam.
God bless America, my home sweet home."

I keep remembering that's what life is all about. Life is struggling to enjoy, to contribute, to do something for somebody else — and for this land of ours that certainly is not perfect. We make a mistake when we give our students the impression that it ought to be perfect. We ought to teach young people very early about the imperfections and the complexities and the paradoxes of our society. We ought not to let them think of this as the greatest nation that ever was and ever will be. Once they learn that it is not, they suffer a period of terrible disillusionment. Maybe this is the best that has ever been, and thank God we are here. But to those of us to whom so much has been given, it seems to me that *of us* so much more is required.

I hope that as we begin this new year, the 200th anniversary of our nation — and thank God it's corresponding with an election — that we will get a chance to put behind us some of those things that we ought to be ashamed of, and some of those people that made us ashamed. We will begin a new lease on life. I'm not one of those that believes that it can come only from the young, but I think that perhaps that's where the energy must come from. Change in a society as large as ours requires a tremendous amount of energy. While the elderly may have ideas and experience and wisdom, only the young have the energy to take on the principalities and powers which tend to dominate our lives. So there is a world out there crying for leadership, crying for leadership not tomorrow but today. I think you are that leadership as well as you are the custodians of that leadership. God bless you.

Frederick Rudolph

The American College Student: from Theologian to Technocrat in 300 Years

As colleges evolved from teaching salvation to teaching success, a void in value-instruction has occurred.

For someone whose long career in higher education lacks the adornment of a deanship in anything, it is a singular honor to have been asked for a second time to address an annual conference of the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators. I thank you. But I do not have to be an insider to know that a meeting of an organization called the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators suggests more than is indicated by its name.

Surely your first conference fifty-eight years ago was in its way something of a confirmation that things had become unstuck in the academy, a recognition that it was no longer possible for the president to carry the college around in a vest pocket, an admission indeed that higher learning had fallen into patterns of organization and behavior charted by that model institution of American society — corporate enterprise. By the time of your first conference the American corporation had revealed itself as an instrument capable of accommodating great size and dynamic growth, as adept at gathering and effectively concentrating vast intellectual and financial resources on the solution of problems, and as the fulfillment of material dreams that had tantalized but defied man since the beginning of time.

The American corporation had also succeeded in diffusing and limiting individual responsibility and in equating its own narrowly defined economic purpose — the making of profits — with some large social goal. But exactly because that responsibility and that social goal were weak, confused, or at worst, even missing, society created a remarkable array of policing and regulatory bodies — the Interstate Commerce Commission, Food and Drug Administration, Federal Trade Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission, Federal Communications Commission — designed to bring corporate enterprise into some vital connection with social responsibility and national purpose. In effect, the state insinuated conscience into corporate conduct.

In some such way, it seems to me, the various offices and functions performed by members of your association have carried the burden of conscience in higher education. While faculties decade-by-decade narrowed their definition of students until all that was left was their minds, you have been charged with supporting the broader possibility that students are human beings. While college and university executives in a frenzy of competition for scholarly eminence and reputation have encouraged their faculties toward the neglect of teaching as an academic function, you have been asked to surround the often weak and, for students, often unhappy core of the academic experience, with the fun and games, the counseling, the environment that will mask the outrageous price for what is delivered and the chaos

of purpose and results that passes as a college education in the United States. In that sense then, in addition to being the conscience of higher education, you are also unintentional co-conspirators. Now you know why the rest of us have never been able to decide whether you are spokesmen for the Lord or for the Devil.

ROLES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF STUDENT VALUES

In any case, in proposing to discuss "The American College Student: From Theologian to Technocrat in 300 Years," I intend, in some degree, to clarify your own roles — as deans of students, housing, counseling, placement, and student affairs — in sustaining the institutional role in the development of student values. You were not around when the American college student was an embryo theologian; now you are the instruments with which we recognize the human qualities of our embryo technocrats.

Two sets of attitudes and expectations are central to the question under consideration — those of students and those of the colleges and universities they attend. Why do students think they are in college? What do they expect or want from the experience? How do institutions see themselves in their relationship to students? What do they expect or want students to get from their undergraduate experience? Probably if they agree on anything, students and their institutions would entertain a common hope that as a result of the college experience the student would not be less of a human being nor less equipped to undertake self-respecting employment. We move into a tangle of mixed purpose and uncertainty when an effort is made to turn so negative and minimal a hope into something positive. Do students expect colleges to make them better human beings? To be better equipped to undertake the jobs that the market offers? Do institutions of higher education see themselves in some significant way responsible both for whether their students get into heaven and whether they are profitably employed? With these questions we enter into history.

But I cannot possibly — within my competence, your patience, and our time — provide us with a history of the American college student here, although if I were a boy again I think such a goal would have been worthy of that bag of dreams I carried around with me until I found myself, by the world's definition, grown up, assigned, narrowed. Instead, I would like to share some thoughts and observations on the role of higher education in shaping values and vocations. I realize that it is tempting to be quite cynical about both. Henry James once dismissed the role of a college education in determining human values with the observation: "There is not a public abuse for which some Harvard . . . [graduate] may not be found [the advocate]." And even in this time of heightened credentialism, it is sometimes difficult for a country that has grown up on Benjamin Franklin's hard rolls and the boy Abraham Lincoln's candlelit sessions with Shakespeare to believe that success requires a college education. I do not intend to be cynical: values and vocations are what it's been all about — always.

Of course things have changed. I cannot imagine an eighteenth century professor of moral philosophy discarding his moral role or his more responsibility quite as freely as the twentieth century atomic scientist who worked on the Manhattan Project and who said that he felt as little responsibility for the bomb as a maker of cans should feel when a can is thrown through a window. Nor can I imagine any colleagues of yours or mine leading the senior class through a study of Hebrew in the fashion of President Ezra Stiles of Yale. Stiles used a selection of psalms for his purpose, one of which he assured his students would be the first they would hear on entering heaven. Moral purposes, values, the reality of heaven —

these were the focus of the early American college, and there can be no denying that they no longer are central to the academic enterprise. When did a Columbia University professor last hazard or find a publisher for a book with the title that Johan David Gross assigned in 1795 to the text that he developed out of his course in moral philosophy for Columbia seniors: "Natural Principles of Rectitude for the Conduct of Man in all States and Situations of Life Demonstrated and Explained in a Systematic Treatise on Moral Philosophy Comprehending the Law of Nature — Ethics — Natural Jurisprudence — General Economics — Politics — and the Law of Nations"?

The senior course in moral philosophy in the old-time college was its most effective and its most transparent repository of values. Religious revivals, compulsory chapel, instructors selected with more regard for their character than their knowledge of Greek or history, and recitation of the Westminster Catechism on Saturdays shaped an environment that made the moral philosophy course the place where the college defined its essential mission. Once that course died, as in time it did, there would really be no way to prevent the formation of the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators. When the college and university presidents who generally taught that course found themselves being replaced in the late nineteenth century by scientifically-trained doctors of philosophy, by professors of economics and political science and sociology and all the rest, the American college and university was no longer sure of what it was doing. All the questions and all the problems of human existence explicit and implicit in the old moral philosophy course went wandering in search of a home. Driven out of a curriculum that was more and more responsive to both scholarly specialization and vocational preparation, the great human questions — the concern with values and human experience, with man in his relation to himself, his fellows, the cosmos — would not go away. They floated to the periphery where they were picked up, wrestled with or embraced, and preserved by your predecessors.

Do you not recognize yourselves in the great Eliphalet Nott discoursing on love to the seniors at Union College in 1828, giving counsel to the young men on how to win a young woman's affections? (Nott urged a strategy of love and admiration rather than worship and adoration, and he quoted approvingly these verses: "Be an angel, my dear, in the morning. But, oh, be a woman at night!") Are you not in your many roles inheritors of the responsibilities of Timothy Dwight, that remarkable president of Yale who in the academic year 1813-1814 confronted his students with their own humanity by discussing with them such questions of immediate social concern as capital punishment, immigration, and freedom of the press, leading them on to such larger matters as "Is man advancing to a state of perfectability? Are wars beneficial? Can the immortality of the soul be proved from the light of nature?"

I realize that none of you is a Dean of Human Perfectability, but in all honesty, don't you have to admit that if there is any support at all for that pleasant and reassuring eighteenth century concept, it is among the members of your Association, to whom the idea was tossed when it became somewhat clumsy for the academic descendants of Eliphalet Nott and Timothy Dwight? There is not a self-respecting college professor who would be caught professing or a self-respecting member of your Association caught denying the value-laden truth that Timothy Dwight shared with the seniors of Yale in 1814: "It may be set down as a strong probability that many more women than men will go to heaven."

Now, my purpose is neither to flatter you nor to denigrate the successors of Nott and Dwight for whom such matters became trivial and irrelevant. But I cannot stress too much how deeply imbedded in the whole style and purpose of the old

college was a concern for values, for the refinement and support of virtues considered not only appropriate to society's leaders but essential to the health of a well-ordered society. Colleges found their justification in the role they played in training the leaders of society — those who would nurture and command the institutions — the church, the state, the bar — which held society together. The graduates of the old college took seriously their candidacies for membership in a governing elite; their job was to hold the barbarians at bay. Until well past the Civil War the American college was governed by the romantic belief that the United States could and would be governed by a class of Christian gentlemen. It refused to understand what was happening in the United States, even when barbarians such as Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln found their way to the White House.

SUCCESS VS. SALVATION

Until the Morrill Act of 1862 and the great demonstration of popular democratic higher education put together in Ithaca by Andrew D. White and Ezra Cornell, the old colleges were allowed to fool themselves even if they fooled no one else. The brutal truth was that American society was too dynamic, too open, too alive with aspiration to accommodate itself to the tidy prescriptions of Christian nurture and social stability that were the earmarks of the old college. The evidence was not new. There had been warning enough. Fewer than half of the graduates in Harvard's first half century became clergymen. In the years before the American Revolution approximately half of the young men who entered King's College dropped out by the end of the second year, succumbing to the pull of real life — commerce, business, the West. Even at Eliphalet Nott's Union College, which before the Civil War was second only to Yale in enrollment and first in endowment, the course of study responded more and more to the insistent question nineteenth century America was asking: "How can I be successful?" This question was crowding out the question around which the old college had built itself: "How can I be saved?"

The great expansion of higher education in the past hundred years, of which we all are the inheritors, has taken place in an environment more friendly to success on earth than salvation in heaven, more friendly to the thousand and one vocations that spell success than to the very few professions once considered appropriate to a governing elite. I am not here to lament the death of the old college or to choose between the vocations for which one prepared at eighteenth century Harvard and those encouraged by the curriculum of a great twentieth century state university or of a small local community college. And I have no tears to shed for any apparent loss in the role of colleges and universities in the shaping of student values. In a thousand ways the American college and university still teaches values: the question is: which ones and why and where and how?

Unfortunately my remarks are leading me into territory where it is terribly easy to be misunderstood; where all kinds of commitments and experiences, on being held up to light, may lead to observations that carry judgments that are unintended. For the distance between the eighteenth and nineteenth century college and the structure of higher education that you and I serve today is no secret: we are today more democratic, more broadly vocational, less oriented toward liberal learning and humanistic values, more responsive to individual need and interest than to social need and purpose. We are descendants of that academic and intellectual revolution for which David Starr Jordan of Stanford was the spokesman when, in 1899, he said: "It is not for the university to decide on the relative values of knowledge. Each man makes his own market, controlled by his own standards." Jordan and his contemporaries accepted an unavoidable burden when they picked up the challenge of new knowledge and new understanding; they somehow had

to find a way to remain anchored to the past while moving in a hundred new directions at once; their solution was curricular chaos.

When Ezra Cornell said, "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study," he meant it. When Charles W. Eliot took over the presidency of Harvard in 1869 vowing to make room — on a level of equality — for the new subjects in the Harvard course of study, using the elective principle as the instrument of his purpose, he meant it. And when Cornell and Harvard were finished showing what a modern American university could be, the curriculum had become an unstructured smorgasbord and a B.A. degree essentially only a certificate of college attendance. By 1900 the prescribed course of study at Harvard had been reduced to a year of freshman rhetoric; at Cornell the authorities substituted for Harvard's year of rhetoric a perhaps more appropriate requirement in physical training. In varying degrees higher education elsewhere followed suit.

The college as the repository of received truth and eternal values had reached the limits of its growth and usefulness. Nothing is more instructive for our purposes than to understand the meaning of the arrival and flourishing of the social sciences — political science, economics, sociology — on the late nineteenth century college and university campus. These areas of study, all once safely contained in the old moral philosophy course, announced a new, diverse, and relative approach to the source of truth and the purpose of higher education. They found encouragement everywhere: in an elective curriculum which was receptive to almost anything as long as some Ph.D. trained professor wanted it there; in the collapse and inability of the old theological-philosophical framework to provide a hospitable environment for new knowledge; and in the contagious prestige of science, research, and induction as the approved and most rewarding avenue to truth. While there was, of course, emerging a significant shift in purpose, from apparently inoculating undergraduates with large doses of revealed religion and deductive truth to exposing them to methods and materials that forced upon them some ultimate responsibility for the truths they must live with, the results and consequences of that shift were not readily apparent to those involved in acting them out. For the ultimate results, which, like the shift itself, were unavoidable, left college students less well-equipped than earlier generations to speak with certainty even when they spoke with authority. There were now too many authorities, all speaking from a platform of science, empiricism, fact, all stumbling toward generalizations that lacked the happy all-inclusiveness of an earlier time.

Moreover, if it is true that the discovery of truth is what it was all about, a lingering regard for ethics and character as the business of higher education and a sensitivity to the practical real world into which students would graduate also determined what was in the curriculum, how it was taught, and how it was perceived by the students themselves. The unity of the eighteenth century had indeed become the multiplicity of the twentieth, chaos had replaced order, and the college curriculum by 1900 was many things — a jumble of courses, instruments for arriving at truth and for liberating young men and women, a running and changing dialogue among scholars and teachers and students as to the no longer certain nature of man and society. The social sciences carried the burden of exploring man's world just as the physical and natural scientists explored the material and natural worlds. If these new developments tended to strand or eliminate or embarrass those who functioned as repositories of ethical concern, the college and universities could not either altogether avoid the necessity that men felt to make judgments, to choose, to act, to believe. For all the science and social science that the university now professed to be guided by and professed to teach, there was no way to escape the humanist, liberal, ethical traditions that informed the behavior and values of

Western man. The college student as theologian was dead — values were not; the college student as technocrat was not yet born — the seeds of vocationalism and specialization, however, had been planted.

BIRTH OF THE COLLEGE STUDENT AS TECHNOCRAT

Vocational purpose had always informed collegiate purpose. It would be unreal to suppose that a young man would incarcerate himself in a New England village for four years if somehow those four years were not to make some practical difference in his career. One reason that so few young men went to college at all was that, indeed, given the careers they had in mind, college made no practical difference. For a very long time the only careers for which a college education was in a sense preparatory — but not obligatory — were the ministry, the law, and college teaching. The history of efforts to make higher education popular, democratic, and economically viable is the history of efforts to make the curriculum responsive to and preparatory for a multitude of careers and vocations other than the so-called traditional learned professions. Licensed by the all-embracing purpose of an Ezra Cornell and subsidized by the elective principle of Charles W. Eliot, vocational programs of greater dimension and narrower perspective were able to make tremendous headway in the new universities.

The old purposes and certainties had been overthrown; chaos, uncertainty, instability, and a lack of commitment prevailed; vocation and career and programs intended to serve them became the curricular focus in the otherwise unfocused university. The broadly conceived education of the early nineteenth century was becoming the narrowly conceived education of the twentieth century. A curriculum designed to ease a student toward salvation had become a curriculum designed to hurry him toward success.

As late as 1889 it was possible for Andrew Carnegie to remark, "While the college student has been learning . . . such knowledge as seems adapted for life upon another planet. . . , the future captain of industry is hotly engaged in the school of experience. . . . College education as it exists is fatal to success. . . ." Carnegie's romantic attachment to the myth of the self-made man is understandable, but the myth itself was running out of credibility. The more complex industrial order that Carnegie himself had helped to usher in demanded new levels of technical competence and created unanticipated new opportunities and challenges to trained intelligence. The new industrial order called out for technical skills; the new university order responded — the student as technocrat was on the way.

INFLUENCE OF THE PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOL

In this endeavor the university was assisted by the great change that had been taking place in American secondary education. By the beginning of the twentieth century the characteristic institution of secondary education in the United States was the public high school, which had replaced the academy, an institution of local, rural, and traditional orientation unequal to the burdens and challenges of mass education in the booming urban centers of the nation. The academies had really been colleges for young people for whom college was unnecessary or inaccessible. The academies shared with the colleges a fundamental commitment to the liberal education of the young. The American high school, however, derived its support and its purpose not from an age that desired to equalize the experience of liberal learning but from a society that increasingly would insist on a relationship between education and job. The American high school became a launching pad for jobs — for secretaries, bookkeepers, stenographers, managers, and so forth.

In contrast to the academy, its focus was narrower, but its vocational orientation was clearer.

The response of the colleges and universities to this change in the direction of secondary education was varied: there were a number of possibilities and they all were taken. Some institutions balked at the change and, finding themselves unable and unwilling to accommodate their purposes to those of the public high school, entered upon a comfortable relationship with another developing phenomenon — the private boarding school; these colleges and universities mostly old and mostly in the East, found themselves fostering and perpetuating elitist purposes in a society increasingly equalitarian. Other institutions simply tried to do everything — programs in Greek and Latin for those who did not know that the twentieth century had happened, undergraduate programs in ceramics and engineering and hotel management for those who did, and a catalogue of courses on everything else for those who did not care very much one way or the other. All the rest — the great majority — took their signals from the high schools, from which they knew their students and their own futures would come. In such ways higher education, already softened up by its failure to make any broad and effective connection with the people, fell under the sway of the high school; without much urging, the university was soon perfecting, retooling, discovering, developing generations of young men and women for whom college would be an experience in achieving the skills appropriate to a particular vocation.

The dependency of state universities and land-grant colleges on legislative support moved them more readily and eagerly into the development of vocational programs than was true of private colleges, but the private colleges, most of them, acquiesced in all kinds of ways in developing undergraduate courses of study in engineering education, chemistry, business, and nursing. One student of higher education, who has come to his conclusions after spending endless hours pouring through thousands of pages of college catalogues, reports that as a result of all these developments, "By the end of the (nineteenth) century . . . the required element in a student's course of study was more likely to consist of vocational specifications than of courses serving a common cultural need. . . . In a century the principles by which specific degree requirements were determined had been reversed."

On another level, while the B.A. degree was being compromised by the intrusion of professional courses and programs, the professional schools were reducing the years of collegiate preparation necessary for enrollment. By the eve of World War I even at such places as Yale and Columbia undergraduate programs were being articulated, in the interest of hurry and of success, with graduate programs in law, medicine, and business. In the meantime, it should be remembered, the course in moral philosophy had been abandoned, the elective curriculum had turned the course of study into a maze or a bag of jelly beans or an incipient supermarket (take your choice), and the spirit of higher education was being most aptly expressed by an engineering dean at the University of Wisconsin, who in 1899 declared, "Creature comforts . . . (come before) culture. . . . 'Sweetness and light are not to be found in squalor of poverty. . . . The material foundation of all high and noble living . . . will in the future . . . (depend on) scientific agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and commerce."

The message was clear; the reversal was complete. No longer was character to be the foundation of career; career was to lay the foundation of character. Williams James had once said that the purpose of higher education was to "help you know a good man when you see him," and President Mendenhall of Smith College is quoted as having said as recently as your lifetime and mine that the purpose of

a college is to "make a man or woman wiser, more sensitive, more compassionate, more responsible, more useful, and happier." History is on the side of that engineering dean at Wisconsin in 1899: the purpose of higher education is to train technocrats who are skilled in meeting what Alexis de Tocqueville describes as the Americans' addiction to physical well-being and material gratification. "Sweetness and light" — those interests of an earlier generation — could come later, if at all.

The colleges and universities, being the department stores that they were or being in a position to peddle a substitute quite as useful as a solid vocational program, found room for the old humanism for those who wanted it, although by the 1920's a liberal arts or humanities student in an American university was somewhat on the defensive, embarrassed by his own apparent uncertainty of career. The colleges that were most successful in resisting the preprofessional and career orientation of the undergraduate course of study — the old Eastern colleges and universities and their regional counterparts elsewhere — had something to offer quite as important as career preparation: influence, image, label, association with the right people, initiation into or confirmation of one's membership in the establishment, the power centers of America.

Recent events have so pushed and pulled the American student toward a vocational bias that we are indeed witnesses to the accelerating downgrading of those aspects of a college education that encourage imaginations, judgment, decision, values. If the Great Depression taught students to be skeptical of specialized learning, that has not been the case in the present depression. Aware that national economies all over the world are in a mess, students flock into economics courses to find out how it is done. Enrollments in humanities courses drop, and enrollments in business administration, engineering, and metallurgy skyrocket, as students abandon a search for the knowledge that might make them interesting, even to them selves, and seek to achieve some kind of technical insurance against the future. And with the blessings of the United States Office of Education the American high school is encouraged to embrace something called "career education" — a movement that promises its victims technical skills and positive attitudes toward work, but neglects those educational experiences that might help to make them good men and women, interesting men and women, wise men and women.

BAD NEWS OR GOOD NEWS?

The challenge to higher education today, it seems to me, is to create an environment that is friendly to the production of social critics and that is responsive to a concern with values and the human experience. General education courses once sought to keep alive such a concern in the specializing, vocationalizing university, but the general education movement, if not dead, is moribund. Recent efforts to develop specific courses in values have a synthetic quality about them: unless the entire institutional environment is recognized as making conscious and unconscious statements of value, value courses as such run the risk of being quaint and strangely and unintentionally irrelevant. College and university faculties, strongly oriented toward their academic disciplines and wedded to the mystique of scientific investigation and suspended judgment, are not a likely source of encouragement for any renewal of concern with values and character. Even the coaches have let us down. The lore of college and university athletics would have us locate in athletic teams and coaching staffs the ultimate locus of value training. Yet, four of the five last presidents of the United States have been college football players, and as I survey the wreckage of these years, I am led to wonder whether peace, justice, and liberty would not have been better served if our presidents had instead been ballet dancers.

Colleges and universities of course can be counted on to continue to teach and support values haphazardly. Every new campus building is a monument to institutional values. Can there be any question about what values Princeton was teaching in refusing to admit black students until World War II? Can there be any question about the values a college of university teaches when it says: We don't care what courses you take; you can have a B.A., and not know how to write, how to understand nuclear fission, look at a painting, or listen to music? Surely you of all people must be able to recognize the values that are implicit in your very offices: your offices are intended to sustain a recognition of the human resources of your institutions, while the focus of the enterprise itself is on the dehumanizing, on the specialized, on the celebration of technical proficiency.

Yet, there may be one hopeful sign. We have all been frequently assured that we are moving into an era of a permanent unfavorable job market for college graduates. This message is generally delivered as bad news. It just may be good news. If there are not sufficient jobs available to justify an endless production of proficient technocrats and if, as is quite apparent, we know not what else to do with the age group other than send it to college, perhaps we can stop making technocrats and get back to the business of making human beings. The time may be at hand when a re-evaluation of academic purpose and philosophy will encourage the curricular developments that will focus on the lives we lead, their quality, the enjoyment they give us, and the wisdom with which we lead them. If such a development does take place, as I suspect it will, let me assure you: there will still be a need for student personnel administrators.

Editor's Note

With this issue the *Journal* enters its 14th volume year; a gentle reminder of our professions's youthfulness during this summer of Bicentennial awareness. Volume 14 also marks the second year for this editorial team. In volume 13, our editorial age of innocence, we have looked at theory and practice, the past and the future in an effort to stimulate as well as provide information useful to deans in the field. We prize the letter of criticism we received even more than the one of support. In volume 14 we will follow the pattern initiated in volume 13, but do it better.

The *Journal* is the product of working student affairs deans. Unsolicited articles are its life blood, as are the efforts of many hard working volunteer staff and Editorial Board members who contribute to making the *Journal* happen. The editors, therefore, want to acknowledge the long time generous labors of Board members — Jerry Bogen, University of Oregon; Fred Dobbins, Colgate University, Bev Johnk, Pomona College; Leon Robinson, Miami-Dade Junior College — whose terms expired in 1976; Dick Pesqueira, New Mexico State University, who has been appointed to the President's Executive Interchange Program for 1976-77 and is unable to complete his term; and Connie Keough, University of Denver, who has left the Board to become an At Large Member of the NASPA Executive Committee. To each of them go our gratitude for their many hours of thoughtful article review, and for their help and support during this past year. There are also special thanks to Vickie Hatz and the Central Office staff for their patient, dedicated effort and cooperation.

And so we are off on another volume year. We know now it can float, but will it fly?

D.C.T.